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FORGING LOCAL IDENTITY IN THE ARCHITECTURE
OF THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY LOW COUNTRIES.
FROM THE BRABANTINE MODE TO THE QUEST
FOR ROMAN GAUL

THE «MANNER OF BRABANT»¹

In 1577 Hans Vredeman de Vries praised the ingeniousness of the most important Netherlandish architects of his time in adapting the «antique Italian manner and use» of Serlio and Vitruvius to the «necessities and customs of this country», which was also the main goal of his treatise as shown by its full title.² According to Vredeman de Vries, local custom not only included certain façade typologies with cross-mullioned windows and taller storeys than was customary in Italy, but also the use of mixed brick and stone masonry. The contract of Master Lauwerys Ballen for the ‘refuge’ of the Cistercian abbey of Herkenrode in the city of Hasselt (Limburg, Belgium), built 1542-1544, describes this way of building as the «manner of Brabant» («up die manier van Brabant»),³ referring to the central duchy of the seventeen

¹ Treated extensively in K. DE JONGE, “Up die maniere van Brabant”. *Brabant en de adelsarchitectuur van de Lage Landen (1450-1530)*, «Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis», LXXXVI, 2003, n. 3-4, pp. 409-423; ID., *Antiquity Assimilated: Court Architecture 1530-1560*, in *Unity and Discontinuity. Architectural Relations between the Southern and Northern Low Countries 1530-1700*, ed. by K. De Jonge, K.A. Ottenheym, Turnhout, Brepols 2007, pp. 55-62 («Architectura Moderna», 5).

² H. VREDEMAN DE VRIES, *Architectura Oder Bauung der Antiquen auss dem Vitruvius, woelches sein funff Columnen orden, daer auss mann alle Landts gebreuch vonn Bauuen zu accomodieren dienstlich fur alle Bauwmaystren Maurer, Stainmetzlen, Schreineren Bildtschneidren, un dalle Liebbabernn der Architecturen [...]*, Antwerp 1577, commentary on the Doric Order (Fig. 6). Cfr. K. OTTENHEYM – K. DE JONGE, *Of Columns and Wooden Piles. The Foundations of Architectural Theory in the Low Countries 1560-1625*, in *Unity and Discontinuity* cit., pp. 93-96.

³ First published (without reference) by E. VAN EVEN, *Renseignements inédits sur la construction du refuge de l'abbaye de Herkenrode, à Hasselt (1542-1545)*, s.l., s.e. 1874, it is now in the archive of the Norbertine Abbey at Averbode, *Register van Herkenrode* VI, 112 (the register carries the nine-

lands constituting the Burgundian federation of the Low Countries, which was also the centre of gravity of the peregrinations of the Burgundian-Habsburg court.⁴ The characteristic 'streaky' effect from the decorative use of stone courses alternating with brick referred to the architecture of the new nobility,⁵ whose favoured building masters were mostly members of the Keldermans family of Brabantine origin (Brussels and Mechelen).⁶ To even greater colourful effect, this brick was covered by a thin layer of blood-red plaster, which strongly contrasted with the off-white rendering of the stone layers, as reported by Albrecht Dürer in 1520.⁷ It was only around 1500, however, that this masonry came to be accepted as prestigious enough for the houses of the nobility. Only a generation earlier, in 1462 Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy had strongly protested its use for the Palais Rihour, the new residence he had persuaded the city of Lille (Flanders) to build for him at vast expense to replace the antiquated Hôtel de la Salle.⁸ «Si vilain ouvrage» should be covered up with white Brabantine limestone, as had been done with the Great Hall erected by the city of Brussels as an addition to the ducal residence on the Coudenberg from 1451 to 1461.⁹ Apparently, the duke did not entirely prevail at Lille, as can be concluded from the surviving chapel complex and

teenth-century title *Verdincknisse Clooster van Herckenrode 1512-1550*). The contract is dated January 14, 1542; the patron was Abbess Mechtildis de Léchy (1519-1548).

⁴ Brussels was its capital 'avant la lettre' from 1455 onwards. Cfr. W. PARAVICINI, *Residenzen der Herzöge von Burgund, 1363-1477*, in *Fürstliche Residenzen im spätmittelalterlichen Europa*, hrsg. von H. Patze, W. Paravicini, Sigmaringen, Thorbecke 1991, pp. 207-264.

⁵ Cfr. H. COOLS, *Mannen met macht. Edellieden en de Moderne Staat in de Bourgondisch-Habsburgse landen (1475-1530)*, Zutphen, Walburg Pers 2001.

⁶ Cfr. R. MEISCHKE – F. VAN TYGHEM, *Huizen en hoven gebouwd onder leiding van Anthonis I en Rombout II*, in *Keldermans. Een architectonisch netwerk in de Nederlanden*, uitg. door H. Janse, Bergen op Zoom, Museum Markiezenhof 1987, pp. 131-154.

⁷ H. PLARD, *Anvers dans le "Journal de voyage aux Pays-Bas" de Dürer (1520-1521)*, in *Lodovico Guicciardini (1521-1589)*, dir. par P. Jodogne, Leuven, Leuven University Press 1990, p. 247 (Travaux de l'Institut Interuniversitaire pour l'étude de la Renaissance et de l'Humanisme, X).

⁸ Cfr. M. BRUCHET, *Notice sur la construction du palais Ribour à Lille*, «Bulletin de la Commission historique du Département du Nord», XXXI, 1922, pp. 209-299; K. DE JONGE, *Bourgondische residenties in het graafschap Vlaanderen. Rijsel, Brugge en Gent ten tijde van Filips de Goede*, «Handelingen der maatschappij voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde van Gent», new series, LIV, 2000, pp. 95-109.

⁹ As prescribed in the building specifications, the town would face heavy penalties if it used another material. The masonry core, however, was executed in brick, as is also shown by the excavations. City Archive Brussels, *Perquement boeck metten taetsen* (Inventaris Pergameni, Oud Archief, IX), ff. 165r-158r, 180r-v, 181v-183v, 185r-186r, 190v-192v, 196v-201v (new folio numbers). Cfr. C. DICKSTEIN-BERNARD, *La construction de l'Aula Magna au Palais du Coudenberg. Les préliminaires (1451-1452)*, «Annales de la société royale d'archéologie de Bruxelles», LXVII, 2006, pp. 51-76; *Id.*, *La construction de l'Aula Magna au palais du Coudenberg. Histoire du chantier (1452-1461?)*, «Annales de la société royale d'archéologie de Bruxelles», LXVIII, 2007, pp. 35-64.

the main staircase (as it was before the last restoration), and from the rare images showing the main quadrangle. As in the main wing at Brussels,¹⁰ these show brick-and-stone masonry above a plinth-like ground floor faced with stone. Four to six layers of brick, alternating with stone bands, constituted the pattern in fashion around 1500; some ten to fifteen years later, the use of stone was reduced to the structuring elements of the façade composition, stressing in particular the horizontals defined by the mullioned windows.

Apart from a particular type of masonry, this manner of building a noble house included innovative types of plans, façade compositions, volumetric effects and staircase types. Following the example of the Palais Rihour, regularly planned quadrangles had become the norm by the beginning of the sixteenth century, as shown, for instance, by the (never realized) project for the residence of Count Henri III of Nassau at Diest (Brabant), which might be dated to the early 1520s.¹¹ Inspired by the long gallery façade – a feature of Burgundian residential architecture from the middle of the fifteenth century –,¹² uniform courtyard elevations with open porticoes on the ground floor, and regularly spaced, tall cross-windows above, were soon seen everywhere; one of the earliest examples of such an elevation can be seen in the long gallery of the residence of Jan II Glymes at Bergen op Zoom (1503-1508) (Fig. 1).¹³ The arcades usually had columns sculpted in ‘blue’ carboniferous limestone imported from the Namur or Hainaut regions, exactly according to the definition of the Brabantine manner of building in the aforementioned contract for Mathildis de Léchy’s house of refuge in Hasselt.¹⁴ A marvellous invention, which can also be ascribed to the Keldermans masters, is the square, pavilion-

¹⁰ Cfr. K. DE JONGE, *Het paleis op de Coudenberg te Brussel in de vijftiende eeuw. De verdwenen hertogelijke residenties in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden in een nieuw licht geplaatst*, «Belgisch tijdschrift voor oudheidkunde en kunstgeschiedenis/Revue belge d’archéologie et d’histoire de l’art», LXI, 1991, pp. 5-38; *Le palais de Bruxelles. Huit siècles d’art et d’histoire*, dir. par A. Smolar-Meynart, A. Vanrie, Brussels, Crédit Communal 1991.

¹¹ B. ROOSENS, *Het lastencohier voor de bouw van een nieuw kasteel te Diest voor graaf Hendrik III van Nassau, ca. 1530*, «Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis», LXVI, 1983, pp. 155-168.

¹² K. DE JONGE, *Espacio Ceremonial. Intercambios en la arquitectura palaciega entre los Países Bajos borgoñones y España en la Alta Edad Moderna (1520-1620)*, in *El legado de Borgoña. Fiesta y Ceremonia cortesana en la Europa de los Austrias*, ed. a cargo de B. García, K. De Jonge, A. Esteban Estringana, Madrid, Marcial Pons 2010, pp. 74-81. *Id.*, *Galleries at the Burgundian-Habsburg Court from the Low Countries to Spain 1430-1600*, in *Europäische Galeriebauten. Galleries in a Comparative European Perspective (1400-1800)*, hrsg. von C. Strunck, E. Kieven, Munich, Hirmer 2010, pp. 73-88 («Römische Studien der Bibliotheca Hertziana», 29).

¹³ Cfr. R. MEISCHKE – F. VAN TYGHEM, *Huizen en boven gebouwd* cit., pp. 135-141; R. MEISCHKE, *Het Markiezenhof te Bergen op Zoom*, in *Bergen op Zoom gebouwd en beschouwd*, uitg. door W.A. van Ham, Bergen op Zoom, Museum Markiezenhof 1987, pp. 1-69.

¹⁴ «[...] te metsen [...] met ghescakiert sicheneren (Zichem stone) ende kareelen (brick), up die manier van Brabant, ende allen wit sicheneren werck sal hy snyen, ende die blauwe steenen ende Gobbteringe steenen effenen». Cfr. note 3.



Fig. 1. Bergen op Zoom, Residence of Jan II Glymes, long gallery (1503-1508).

like tower with a fantastic, bulbous, slate-covered spire, used for the first time to great advantage at Heverlee in 1519-1520 at the residence of the Lord High Chamberlain (*premier et grand chambellan*) William of Croÿ, lord of Chièvres (Fig. 2).¹⁵ Its many tall windows, which allow the light to penetrate the rooms from all sides, and which offer an excellent view of the surrounding domain, unequivocally show that this is no longer a fortified castle, and that its few defensive elements are more a matter of status than of functional use. This complex volumetric effect must have been consciously sought after. Furthermore, great emphasis was placed on the staircase; lodged in a separate tower pavilion (like in Heverlee) or in an open loggia in the courtyard (like in Breda, see below), it served as the main entrance and led to the principal reception rooms on the upper floor.¹⁶

¹⁵ The towers are dated 1519/1520 at the latest, according to the receipts in Algemeen Rijksarchief Brussels, Arenberg Archief, *Kwitanties 1517-1520*, nn. 28-30 (author's numbering), payments «vander cappen vand(er) nyeuwen toerre ter moele wert». Cfr. K. DE JONGE, *Schloss Heverlee bei Leuven und die Residenzbildung in den südlichen Niederlanden um 1500*, in *Burgen und Schlösser in den Niederlanden und in Nordwestdeutschland*, hrsg. von G.U. Großmann, Munich/Berlin, Wartburg-Gesellschaft 2004, pp. 69-80 («Forschungen zu Burgen und Schlössern», 8).

¹⁶ Examples in K. DE JONGE, *Antiquity Assimilated* cit., p. 60.



Fig. 2. Heverlee, Residence of William of Croÿ, west tower (completed in 1519/1520).

FROM LOCAL SIGNIFIER TO ROYAL STATUS SYMBOL¹⁷

This way of building was fit for a king, especially when combined with the antique repertory of forms imported from Italy – the «antique Italian manner and use» according to Vredeman de Vries – and with strictly proportioned, symmetrical designs, as shown by early examples such as the residence of Count Henri III of Nassau at Breda, designed by Tommaso Vincidor of Bologna (built from 1536),¹⁸ and the residence of Count Jean de Hennin-Liétard at Boussu, designed by Jacques Du Broeucq (built from 1540).¹⁹ King Philip II of Spain greatly admired this specific style, which he had first encountered during his travels through the Low Countries in 1548-1551, especially in its most modern form, as represented by the residences of his aunt Mary, dowager queen of Hungary, regent of the Low Countries, at Binche and Mariemont.²⁰ The Pardo hunting lodge to the north of Madrid, the castle of Valsaín near Segovia, and the additions to the Alcázar in Madrid, built upon his return from the Low Countries in 1555, carry an unmistakable Netherlandish stamp.²¹ Jean Lhermite, an archer of the royal guard who came from the Low Countries, tellingly described Valsaín as «built in the manner of the houses in our country, with towers, turrets, spires and roofs covered with beautiful slate, roomy apartments, galleries, courtyards and gardens» (Fig. 3).²² Philip II strongly appreciated the ‘Flemish’ manner’s particular

¹⁷ Treated extensively in K. DE JONGE, *Triunfos flamencos: Felipe II y la arquitectura del Renacimiento en Flandes*, in *Felipe II (1527-1598). Europa y la Monarquía Católica, Literatura, Cultura y Arte*, ed. a cargo de José Martínez Millán, Madrid, Parteluz 1998, IV, pp. 347-369; ID., *Netherlandish models from the Habsburg sphere: From Spain to Germany and Denmark*, in *The Low Countries at the Crossroads*, a cura di K.A. Ottenheim, K. De Jonge, Turnhout, Brepols 2013, *in print* («Architectura Moderna», 13).

¹⁸ G. VAN WEZEL, *Het paleis van Hendrik III graaf van Nassau te Breda*, Zeist/Zwolle, Waanders 1999 («De Nederlandse Monumenten van Geschiedenis en Kunst», 100).

¹⁹ K. DE JONGE, *Le langage architectural de Jacques Du Broeucq*, in *Le château de Boussu*, dir. par K. De Jonge, M. Capouillez, Namur, Direction du Patrimoine 1998, pp. 161-187 («Études et Documents, Monuments et Sites», 8).

²⁰ Built by Jacques Du Broeucq. Cfr. K. DE JONGE, *Mariemont, “Château de chasse” de Marie de Hongrie*, «Revue de l’Art», 2005, n. 149, pp. 45-57; ID., *Marie de Hongrie, maître d’ouvrage (1531-1555), et la Renaissance dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, in *Marie de Hongrie, Politique et culture sous la Renaissance aux Pays-Bas*, dir. par B. Federinov, G. Docquier, Morlanwelz, Musée royal de Mariemont 2008, pp. 124-139 («Monographies du Musée royal de Mariemont», 17); ID., *Antiquity Assimilated* cit., pp. 58-70.

²¹ J.M. BARBEITO, *Felipe II y la arquitectura. Los años de juventud*, in *Felipe II un monarca y su época. Un príncipe del Renacimiento*, ed. a cargo de F. Checa Cremades, Madrid, Museo del Prado 1998, pp. 83-103 generally ignores the ‘Flemish’ roots of Philip II’s early architecture.

²² A. BUSTAMANTE GARCÍA, *La arquitectura de Felipe II*, in *Felipe II y el arte de su tiempo*, Madrid, Visor 1998, 495 («Colección Debates sobre Arte», VIII). *El pasatiempos de Jehan Lhermite*.

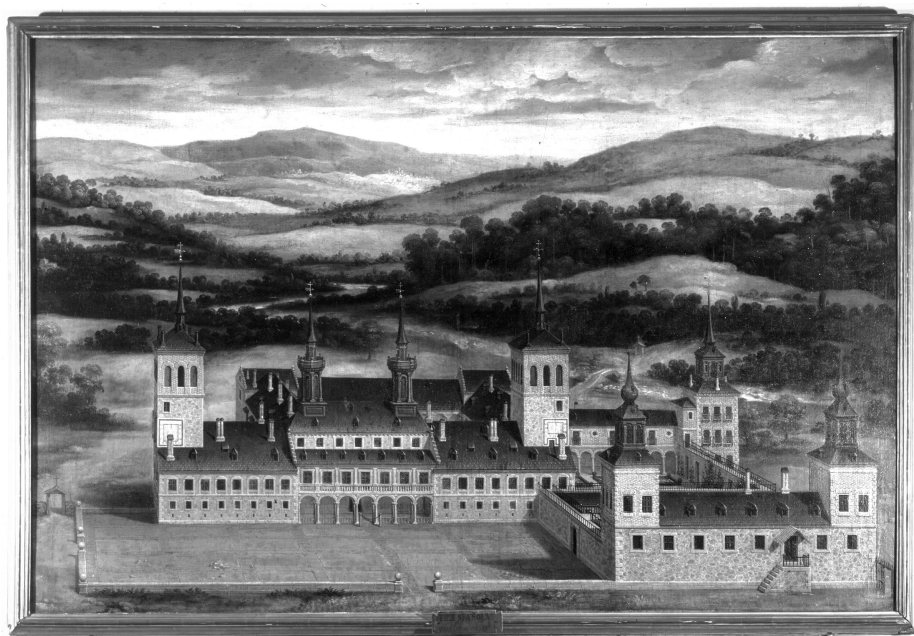


Fig. 3: Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo (attributed to), *View of Valsain* (early 17th century), San Lorenzo de El Escorial (© Patrimonio Nacional, 10014329).

technical characteristics and especially the comfortable living conditions it provided, as shown by his renovation of the Pardo from 1559 onwards.²³ The king had the existing party walls broken out in the north and south wing, thus creating two closed courtyards galleries on the first floor, which were doubled by open loggias on the external façades. This remodelling was further completed in a distinctly ‘Flemish’ style, by adding square towers with a bulbous spire to the corners; here smaller private spaces were concentrated, to replace the ones lost when the interior walls were demolished. In addition, high slate roofs in the Flemish mode were to cover the wings.

Memorias de un Gentilhombre Flamenco en la corte de Felipe II y Felipe III, ed. a cargo de J. Sáenz de Miera, J.L. Checa Cremades, Madrid, Doce Calles 2005, p. **LXII**, p. 142. On Valsain, cfr. E. **MARTÍNEZ TERCERO**, *Valsain: un Real sitio Flamenco en el Bosque de Segovia*, «Reales sitios», XXII, 84, 1985, pp. 12-24; M.A. **MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ**, *El Real Sitio de Valsain*, Madrid, Alpuerto 1992.

²³ Cfr. J.J. **MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ**, *El palacio de El Pardo en el siglo XVI*, «Boletín del seminario de estudios de arte y arqueología», XXXVI, 1970, pp. 5-41; J.M. **BARBEITO**, *Felipe II y la arquitectura* cit., pp. 96-99; J.J. **RIVERA BLANCO**, *El Palacio de El Pardo entre Carlos V y Felipe II*, «Reales sitios», XXXVII, 2000, 145, pp. 2-15.

The king took an active hand in introducing this way of building into Spain. Court architect Gaspar de Vega was sent on a study trip to France, the Low Countries and England, and on 16 May 1556, dutifully reported on the most splendid representative of the Netherlandish manner of building, the castle of Jean de Hennin-Liétard at Boussu, where in spite of its unfinished and war-damaged state, the design and work were «the best he had seen».²⁴ Philip imposed these building materials and techniques on his architects; thus brick-and-stone masonry, tall windows with many-leaved shutters and stained glass, steep roofs covered in bluish-black slate, chimneys and chimney stacks, and bulbous spires placed on square, tower-like pavilions, became characteristic of the so-called «estilo austríaco» or «Austrian», i.e. Habsburg style, in Spain until well into the eighteenth century.²⁵ At first, this meant importing Netherlandish specialists capable of firing the new type of brick, of working with slate, which was not a material commonly used in Castile at that time, and of erecting the towering wooden roofs and spires; for the Alcázar in Madrid, a full-size model of a window frame with shutters had to be created by Flemish carpenters.²⁶

Even before its reinvention as official Habsburg style under Philip II during the 1550s, the «manner of Brabant» must have been perceived as both Netherlandish and representational without the Low Countries. Its association with the glorious Burgundian past, celebrated at every court festivity during Charles V's reign,²⁷ must have been a decisive factor in its enduring success, particularly in the Holy Roman Empire under Charles V and Ferdinand I. It could thus serve as a clear statement of allegiance, as evidenced by the following cases.

²⁴ «Yo estuve en la casa de Bosu en Flandes medio día, y yo prometo a v. Magd. que es un pedaço de edificio el mejor labrado y tratado que yo aca ni alla hasta agora he visto». *Relacion que embio Gaspar de Vega a XVI de Mayo 1556* (Archivo General, Simancas, *Obras y Bosques: Segovia*, Legajo 1). F. INIGUEZ ALMECH, *Casas reales y jardines de Felipe II*, Rome, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Delegación de Roma 1952, p. 165.

²⁵ Term coined by F. CHUECA GOITIA, *El Escorial, piedra profética*, Madrid, Instituto de España 1986, after the Spanish denomination of the House of Habsburg, *Casa de Austria*; see K. DE JONGE, *Triunfos flamencos* cit., pp. 347-348.

²⁶ V. GÉRARD, *De castillo a palacio. El Alcázar de Madrid en el siglo XVI*, Madrid, Xarait 1984, pp. 81-83; J.M. BARBEITO, *El Alcázar de Madrid*, Madrid, Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid 1992, pp. 37-38.

²⁷ Overviews in K. DE JONGE, *El emperador y las fiestas flamencas de su época (1515-1558)*, in *La fiesta en la Europa de Carlos V*, ed. a cargo de A. J. Morales, Madrid, Sociedad Estatal 2000, pp. 48-71 and R. DOMÍNGUEZ CASAS, *Fiesta y ceremonial borgoñón en la corte de Carlos V*, in *Carlos V y las artes. Promoción artística y familia imperial*, ed. a cargo de M. J. Redondo Cantera, M. A. Zalama, Valladolid, Junta de Castilla y León 2000, pp. 13-44; also M. BELOZERSKAYA, *Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts across Europe*, Cambridge/New York, Cambridge University Press 2002.

When Duke William V the Wealthy of Jülich-Kleve-Berg allied himself to Emperor Charles V, thus closing a long period of Gueldres opposition to the Burgundian Federation (1543), he was able to start an ambitious building programme centred upon his residence in Düsseldorf and on the town of Jülich.²⁸ From 1548-1549 onwards the newly fortified town also received a *palazzo in fortezza* after an imperial pattern which had been introduced into the Low Countries by the imperial engineers at Ghent (1540-1542): a square citadel with bastions on the corners, and with a princely palace on an equally square plan in the middle.²⁹ Its Italian sources have always received pride of place in scholarly literature, as has the presumed author, Alessandro Pasqualini of Bologna.³⁰ In this context, however, the most intriguing element is the brick-and-stone masonry of the lateral portions of the wings and the towers, which is definitely neither Italian nor indigenous to the duchy;³¹ on the contrary, it conforms exactly to the contemporary «manner of Brabant», with white stone mouldings underlining the sills, transoms, and lintels of the cross windows, and fortifying the corners. Not only the fortified palace model but also this masonry type, which looks falsely vernacular, carried the double message of allegiance to the emperor on the one hand and of presumption on the other, since the duke, while a sovereign ruler in his territory, was not a monarch. As the palace was never actually completed, we do not know which

²⁸ Cfr. H. KÜFFNER – E. SPOHR, *Burg und Schloß Düsseldorf. Baugeschichte einer Residenz*, Jülich, Fischer 1999 («Jülicher Forschungen», 6); H. NEUMANN, *Zitadelle Jülich. Grosser Kunst- und Bauführer*, Jülich, Fischer 1986; J. EBERHARDT, *Die Zitadelle von Jülich – Wehranlagen, Residenzschloß und Schloßkapelle – Forschungen zur Planungs- und Baugeschichte*, Jülich, Fischer 1993.

²⁹ The fortress was designed by Donato de' Boni and built under the direction of Adrien de Croÿ, count of Roeulx, from 1540 onwards; C. VAN DEN HEUVEL, «Papiere Bolwercken». *De introductie van de Italiaanse stede- en vestingbouw in de Nederlanden (1540-1609) en het gebruik van tekeningen*, Alphen aan den Rijn, Canaletto 1991, pp. 26 sgg., pp. 150 sgg; C. VAN DEN HEUVEL – B. ROOSENS, *Los Países Bajos. Las fortificaciones y la coronación de la defensa del Imperio de Carlos V*, in *Las fortificaciones de Carlos V*, ed. a cargo de C.J. Hernando Sánchez, Madrid, Ediciones del Umbral 2000, pp. 593-599. The designs for the palace, by Jean De Heere (or Mynheere) of Ghent and Virgilio of Bologna (1540-1542), and by Jacques Du Broeucq (1549) were never realized; R. HEDICKE, *Jacques Dubroeucq de Mons*, «Annales du cercle archéologique de Mons», XL, 1911, pp. 296-297, pp. 430-432; K. DE JONGE, *A Model Architect: Jacques Du Broeucq (1540-1555)*, in *Unity and Discontinuity* cit., pp. 85-86.

³⁰ *Der italienische Architekt Alessandro Pasqualini (1493-1559) und die Renaissance am Niederrhein: Kenntnisstand und Forschungsperspektiven*, hrsg. von G. Bers, C. Doose, Jülich, Fischer 1994; G. VON BÜREN, *Schlosser und Bastionen – Importierte Renaissance. Alessandro Pasqualini (1493-1559) Architekt und Festungsbaukundiger in Nord-Westeuropa – Stand der Forschung*, «Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte», XXXIV, 1995, pp. 57-79; «Italienische» Renaissancebaukunst an Schelde, Maas und Niederrhein. *Stadtanlagen – Zivilbauten – Wehranlagen*, hrsg. von G. Bers, C. Doose, Jülich, Fischer 1999.

³¹ As H.R. HITCHCOCK, *German Renaissance Architecture*, Princeton, Princeton University Press 1981, p. 112, already conceded.

type of roof would finally have covered the towers instead of the hipped structures known from later times.

Similarly, Schloss Landestrost at Neustadt am Rübenberge, built by Duke Erich II of Braunschweig-Calenberg (1573) who was a prominent convert to Philip II's cause,³² constitutes a creditable effort in realizing the mixed masonry of the «manner of Brabant» with iron sandstone as a substitute for the white bands of the original; the use of brick in a region known for stone cladding is indeed significant. Several elements with Habsburg connotations also come together in the Johannisburg residence, built from 1605 onwards by the German architect Georg Ridinger (Rudinger) for Johann Schweikard von Kronberg, archbishop of Mainz, at the very edge of Aschaffenburg.³³ Some authors have seen its square courtyard plan and especially its protruding corner towers as quintessentially French; however, the French late sixteenth-century pavilion is far bigger – it accommodates an entire apartment sequence of fair-sized «chambre», «garde-robe», cabinet – and at the same time it is squatter, its descent of the medieval round corner tower long forgotten. The placing, relative size and height, and especially the crowning spires of the corner towers on the contrary seem much closer to the Habsburg model, which by that time is Netherlandish and Spanish at the same time; they constitute a significant difference with other four-wing German castles with staircase towers in the corners of the courtyard (Fig. 4).³⁴ The articulation of the two upper stories seems particularly significant: set back slightly from the main body of the tower, they form a separate volume, surrounded by a balcony with balustrade on projecting brackets which serves as belvedere. This invention of Jacques Du Broeucq's may be traced from the *châtelet* at Boussu (1540-1555) to the main pavilion of the new residence of Count Peter Ernst of Mansfeld, governor of Luxemburg, at Clausen (between 1575 and the early 1580s).³⁵ Johannisburg thus fits in very well with the Catholic stance of its pa-

³² Cfr. H. BORGGREFE – B. MARTEN, «Pensionario alemano de su Magestad». Herzog Erich II. von Braunschweig-Calenberg in den Diensten des spanischen Königs Philipp II. nach den Quellen des spanischen Zentralarchivs zu Simancas, in *Kunst und Repräsentation. Beiträge zur europäischen Hofkultur im 16. Jahrhundert*, hrsg. von H. Borggreffe, B. Uppenkamp, Lemgo, Weserrenaissance-Museum Schloß Brake 2002, pp. 181-298 («Materialien zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte in Nord- und Westdeutschland, Weserrenaissance-Museum Schloß Brake», 29).

³³ Cfr. H.R. HITCHCOCK, *German Renaissance Architecture* cit., pp. 285-288.

³⁴ Such as the Moritzbau in Dresden (1548-1556), Wilhelm IV of Hesse-Kassel's residence at Kassel (1557-1562), and the Wilhelmsburg in Schmalkalden (1585-1595), also built for the landgrave of Hesse. Cfr. H.R. HITCHCOCK, *German Renaissance Architecture* cit., pp. 214-215. G. ULRICH GROßMANN, *Renaissanceschlösser in Hessen: Architektur zwischen Reformation und Dreißigjährigem Krieg*, Regensburg, Schnell und Steiner 2010, pp. 59-64.

³⁵ K. DE JONGE, *Le château et le jardin de "La Fontaine" à Clausen dans son contexte européen*,



Fig. 4. Aschaffenburg, Residence of Johann Schweikard von Kronberg (begun in 1605).

tron: Schweikard, who had converted to Catholicism in 1564, was a champion of the Counter-Reformation in his diocese.

Already in 1559 Duke Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy, governor of the Low Countries, had sent a Netherlandish architect to Erich II of Braunschweig-Calenberg, who employed him at his (lost) Freudenthal residence in Uslar, together with other Netherlandish craftsmen.³⁶ As the Florentine merchant-turned-author Lodovico Guicciardini wrote in his *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* (Antwerp, 1567), the diaspora of Netherlandish artists, including building masters and sculptor-architects,³⁷ had grown to a significant phenomenon in the mid-sixteenth century:

in *Un prince de la Renaissance. Pierre-Ernest de Mansfeld (1517-1604)*, II, *Essais et catalogue*, dir. par J.-L. Mousset, K. De Jonge, Luxembourg, Musée national d'histoire et d'art 2007, nn. 122-130, pp. 255-256.

³⁶ Documented in 1562. H.R. HITCHCOCK, *German Renaissance Architecture* cit., p. 157.

³⁷ Cfr. A. JOLLY, *Netherlandish sculptors in sixteenth-century northern Germany and their patrons*, «Simiolus», XXVII, 1999, n. 3, pp. 119-143.

And furthermore from here [Antwerp] master artists have spread out all over England and Germany, and especially in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Poland and other northern countries, going as far as Moscow, without mentioning those who went to France, Spain and Portugal, most of them enticed there by rich rewards of princes, republics and other potentates, which is no less wonderful than it is honourable [...].³⁸

Like Philip II of Spain, the Danish kings Frederick II and Christian IV invited Netherlandish building crews to create a new royal style, drawing upon the expertise available in the Antwerp metropolis in particular.³⁹ As these rulers definitely did not belong to the Habsburg camp, this manner of building thus became generically royal, of a quality and representational character befitting a kingly building, but no longer specifically Netherlandish or Brabantine in character.⁴⁰ The particular brick and limestone masonry of the «manner of Brabant» can be seen quite early on, not only in princely buildings such as Reinbek (1571-1573) in Schleswig-Holstein, built for Adolf I of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf who was a younger son of King Frederick I, and in the bath house at Frederiksborg (Hans Floris, 1580-1581), but also in manor houses belonging to high officials and noblemen, such as Rosenholm (1559-1562/67), built for Royal Counsel Jørgen Rosenkrantz, and Lystrup, begun in 1579 for Chancellor Eiler Grubbe.⁴¹ The Danish élite indeed had impeccable connections with the Low Countries – Adolf I, for instance,

³⁸ «Et di qui poi si spargono maestri per l'Inghilterra, per tutta l'Alamagna, & specialmente per la Danimarca, per la Suetia, per la Norvegia, per la Pollonia, & per altri paesi Settettrionali, insino per la Moscovia, senza parlare di quelli que vanno per la Francia, per la Spagna, & per il Portogallo, il piu delle volte chiamati con gran' provvisione da Principi, da Republiche, & da altri Potentati, cosa non meno maravigliosa che honorata [...]». L. GUICCIARDINI, *Descrittione [...] di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania inferiore*, Antwerp, Guglielmus Silvius 1567¹, p. 101.

³⁹ Cfr. K. DE JONGE, *A Netherlandish Model? Reframing the Danish Royal Residences in a European Perspective*, in *Reframing the Danish Renaissance. Problems and Prospects in a European Perspective*, ed. by M. Andersen et alii, Copenhagen, National Museum of Denmark 2011, pp. 219-233 («Publications from the National Museum. Studies in Archaeology & History», 16).

⁴⁰ Cfr. D.F. SLOTHOUWER, *Bouwkunst der Nederlandsche Renaissance in Denemarken*, Amsterdam, P.N. van Campen 1924; J.G. RODING, «The Myth of the Dutch Renaissance» in *Denmark. Dutch Influence on Danish Architecture in the 17th century*, in *Baltic Affairs. Relations between the Netherlands and North-Eastern Europe 1500-1800*, ed. by J.Ph.S. Lemmink, J.S.A.M. van Koningsbrugge, Nijmegen, 1990, pp. 343-353 («Baltic Studies», 1). See also the essays collected in *Reframing the Danish Renaissance* cit.

⁴¹ U. ALBRECHT, *Deutsche, französische und niederländische Einflüsse als Wegbereiter und Katalysatoren der dänischen Renaissance-Architektur in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Das Beispiel des Herrenhauses*, in *Reframing the Danish Renaissance* cit., pp. 206-207. Cfr. B. BØGGILD JOHANNSEN – H. JOHANNSEN, *Adelsvælde og renæssance*, «Herregården», II, 2005, pp. 21-94. B. BØGGILD JOHANNSEN – H. JOHANNSEN, *Architektur og billedkunst, in Danmark og renæssancen 1500-1560*, red. af C. Bach-Nielsen et alii, s.l., Gads Forlag 2006, pp. 112-129.

had spent several years at Charles V's court as a young man (1548-1553), amongst others in Brussels – but without the fertile soil of the local tradition of brick construction,⁴² the imported style would probably not have taken so rapidly and so thoroughly. The same could be said of the lively silhouette with towers and gables, which resonated with patrons used to tall, compact manor houses. Buildings such as King Christian IV's manor house Rosenborg (built from 1606/1607)⁴³ thus not only draw upon Netherlandish models but also validate a rich, local 'modus' (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5. Rosenborg, Manor house of King Christian IV of Denmark (begun in 1606).

⁴² Cfr. U. **ALBRECHT**, *Der Adelssitz im Mittelalter. Studien zum Verhältnis von Architektur und Lebensform in Nord- und Westeuropa*, Berlin, Deutscher Kunstverlag 1995, pp. 174-226; **ID.**, *Deutsche, französische und niederländische Einflüsse als Wegbereiter und Katalysatoren der dänischen Renaissance-Architektur* cit., pp. 197-217.

⁴³ Cfr. D.F. **SLOTHOUWER**, *Bouwkunst der Nederlandsche* cit., pp. 120-132; J. A. **SKOVGAARD**, *A King's Architecture. Christian IV and his buildings*, London, Hugh Evelyn 1973, pp. 67-73; J. **RODING**, *Christiaan IV van Denemarken (1588-1648). Architectuur en stedenbouw van een Luthers vorst*, Alkmaar, Cantina architectura 1991, pp. 41-61.

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Not only the «manner of Brabant», but also the «antique manner» branded by Hans Vredeman de Vries as 'Italian' was seen as «local» to a certain extent; the Southern Low Countries had, after all, been part of the Roman Empire. As a consequence, Antiquity was perceived as an integral part of the national past. From the earliest decades of the sixteenth century, Netherlandish humanists started searching for archaeological evidence of their Roman roots.⁴⁵ In 1520, the foundations of the *Brittenburg*, the fortified base camp from which the Emperor Claudius began his conquest of Britain, were discovered on the North Sea shore near the mouth of the Rhine. Years later in 1552, Jan van Scorel would take some of its stones to the Coudenberg Palace in Brussels, to show them to Philip of Spain. It was studied from 1566-1568 by the famous cartographer Abraham Ortelius, together with Guido Laurinus, the noted antiquary from Bruges, and Hubert Goltzius, whose engraved works on antiquities and Roman history had led the city of Rome to proclaim him an honorary citizen (*Civis romanus*) in 1566.⁴⁶ Earlier still, the famous humanist Jean Lemaire de Belges tried to interest the regent, Duchess Margaret of Savoy in a Gallo-Roman tumulus near Zaventem (Brussels). His scrupulously detailed description of its structure and of the objects found during the excavation on May 14, 1507, was aptly incorporated in his treatise *Des Anciennes pompes funerales* on ancient funerary rites.⁴⁷ The original report, which inspired Lemaire's description, had originated in the circle of Gillis and Hieronymus Busleyden, who were also noted humanists and connoisseurs of the antique; the latter was one of the founders of the famous Collegium Trilingue in Leuven.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ K. DE JONGE, *Hieronymus Cock's antiquity: Archaeology and Architecture from Italy to the Low Countries*, in *Hieronymus Cock. The Renaissance in Print*, ed. by J. Van Grieken et alii, Antwerp/New Haven, Mercatorfonds/Yale University Press 2013, pp. 42-51.

⁴⁵ Cfr. S. LANGEREIS, *Geschiedenis als ambacht. Oudheidkunde in de Gouden Eeuw: Arnoldus Buchelius en Petrus Scriverius*, Hilversum, Verloren 2001, pp. 25-60 («Hollandse Studiën», 37); T. MEGANCK, *Erudite Eyes. Artists and Antiquarians in the Circle of Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598)*, unpublished dissertation, Princeton University 2003.

⁴⁶ Ortelius had been interested in the subject since 1562; his engraving, dated probably between 1566 and 1568, was published in L. GUICCIARDINI, *Descrittione [...] di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania inferiore*, Antwerp, Christofano Plantino 1581, 2nd ed. [1st ed. 1567]. Cfr. T. MEGANCK, *Abraham Ortelius, Hubertus Goltzius en Guido Laurinus en de studie van de Arx Britannica*, «Bulletin van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond», XCVIII, 1999, pp. 226-236. ID., *Erudite Eyes. Artists and Antiquarians* cit., pp. 19-35.

⁴⁷ M.-M. FONTAINE – E.A.R. BROWN, *Jean Lemaire de Belges. Des Anciennes pompes funerales*, Mayenne, Impr. de la Manutention 2001, pp. VI-XXI («Société des textes français modernes», 226).

⁴⁸ Cfr. H. DE VOCHT, *History of the foundation and the rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense*, Leuven, University Press 1951-1955, 4 voll. («Humanistica Lovaniensia», 10-13).

There is also a record of a study trip made in 1575 by Ortelius with three friends from Antwerp to see Gallo-Roman antiquities in Liège and Luxemburg: Johannes Vivianus, merchant and lover of the arts; Hieronymus Scholiers, a man of letters, and Jan van Schille, artist and map maker. This rare equivalent to the Italian tour was published at Christopher Plantin's in 1584.⁴⁹ In Luxemburg, the company visited the extensive collection of Gallo-Roman antiquities from Trier, Arlon and Metz, gathered by Peter Ernst of Mansfeld.⁵⁰ These objects, some of which survive to this day, were displayed in Mansfeld's suburban residence and gardens at Clausen near Luxemburg, the architecture of which was specifically created to serve as a properly 'antique' setting.⁵¹ If a generally well informed, early seventeenth-century source is to be taken literally, Mansfeld wanted to «compete with the princes of the Church who carry the purple and with other excellencies, whose gardens and vineyards in Rome richly overflow with antique monuments».⁵² One of these princes of the Church was Mansfeld's political rival Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, a noted connoisseur of the Antique who had many ties to the Roman milieu of collectors and antiquarians, several of whom – such as Stephanus Pighius, Antoine Morillon, and Justus Lipsius – were at some time employed by him in various antiquarian enterprises.⁵³ He also collected finds from the Low Countries. A silver vase discovered during excavations in 1557-1558 at Arras where his bishop's see was located, was studied by Pighius and ultimately published in the *Mythologia*.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ A. ORTELIUS – J. VIVIANUS, *Itinerarium per nonnullas Galliae Belgicae partes*, Antwerp, Plantin 1584. Cfr. K. SCHMIDT-OTT, *ITINERARIUM PER NONNULLAS GALLIAE BELGICAE PARTES – Der Reiseweg durch einige Gebiete des belgischen Galliens von Abraham Ortelius und Johannes Vivianus. Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Frankfurt a.M., Peter Lang 2000 («Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe 3: Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften, 841»); T. MEGANCK, *Erudite Eyes. Artists and Antiquarians* cit., pp. 36-52 and Appendix 5.

⁵⁰ Its local provenance was stressed in the *Itinerarium*. A. ORTELIUS – J. VIVIANUS, *Itinerarium* cit. p. 33. R. VON BUSCH, *Studien zu deutschen Antikensammlungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, unpublished dissertation, Universität Tübingen 1973, pp. 35-36; N. BÜTTNER, *De verzamelaar Abraham Ortelius, in Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598) cartograaf en humanist*, uitg. door R.W. Karrow jr. et alii, Antwerp/Brussels, Museum Plantin-Moretus/Royal Library of Belgium 1998, p. 172.

⁵¹ *Un prince de la Renaissance* cit.

⁵² A. WILTHEIM S.I., *Luciliburgensia sive Luxemburgum Romanum, hoc est Arduennae veteris situs [...]*, dir. par A. Neÿen, Luxembourg, 1842, p. 167. Alexander Wiltheim S.I. (1604-1684) had grown up on the ruined domain at Clausen, since his father was in Mansfeld's employ. Cfr. *Alexandre Wiltheim 1604-1684. Sa vie – son œuvre – son siècle*, dir. par J. Krier, E. Thill, Luxembourg, Musée national d'histoire et d'art 1984. Critical note in R. VON BUSCH, *Studien zu deutschen Antikensammlungen* cit., pp. 42-43.


⁵³ Pighius was his secretary and librarian from 1555 onwards; Morillon was the curator of his famous collection of antique coins and medals, and Lipsius was his Latin secretary from 1568 to 1570.

⁵⁴ C. BANZ, *Höfisches Mäzenatentum in Brüssel. Kardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517-*

TO CONCLUDE

Hans Vredeman de Vries was the first to inject the notion of ‘foreign’ import into the debate on architecture in the sixteenth-century Low Countries – a notion that has plagued the perception of Netherlandish early modern architecture to this day. However, in the contemporary eye, the «antique Italian manner and use» and the «necessities and customs of this country» were not necessarily incompatible opposites but represented different aspects of a complex vision of the past, used to create new Netherlandish Renaissance architecture. Not only the awareness of Belgica’s Roman past, shared by patrons and erudite artists alike, and references to the myth of Burgundian splendour, fully understood by the courtly élite even beyond the borders of the Low Countries, played a role, but, arguably, also interest in the local, ‘mediaeval’ past. New histories connecting the Low Countries and Emperor Charles V with mythical Antiquity, such as Adrianus Barlandus’s *Rerum gestarum a Brabantiae ducibus historia* (Antwerp, Hadrianus Tilianus and Johannes Hillenius van Hoochstraten 1526)⁵⁵ and Canon Willem Heda’s unpublished *Genethliacum* (c. 1506)⁵⁶ may provisionally be offered in evidence. Both authors belonged to the extended Busleyden network in which the aforementioned first report on a Gallo-Roman excavation originated (1507). This promising avenue should be further explored in the future.

1586) und die Erzherzöge Albrecht (159-1621) und Isabella (1566-1633), Berlin, Mann 2000, pp. 66-73: 62 («Berliner Schriften zur Kunst», 12); ID., *Zwischen Repräsentation und Humanismus – Zu Funktion und Anspruch von Granvelles Mäzenatentum*, in *Les Granvelle et les anciens Pays-Bas*, dir. par K. De Jonge, G. Janssens, Leuven, Leuven University Press 2000, pp. 399-402 («Symbolae B Facultatis Litterarum Lovaniensis», 17). *Hieronymus Cock. The Renaissance in Print*, ed. by J. Van Grieken et alii, Antwerp/New Haven, Mercatorfonds/Yale University Press 2013, catalogue n. 15.

⁵⁵ E. DAXHELET, *Adrien Barlandus, humaniste belge 1486-1538: sa vie, son oeuvre, sa personnalité*, Leuven, Uystpruyst 1938 («Humanistica Lovaniensia», 6); A.-J. BIJSTERVELD et alii, *De Kroniek van de hertogen van Brabant door Adrianus Barlandus. Vertaling, inleiding en voortzetting*, ’s-Hertogenbosch, Adr. Heinen 2004; F. DESMICHT, *Barlandus’ Historia in perspectief. Een thematische studie van Adrianus Barlandus’ Rerum gestarum a Brabantiae ducibus historia (1526) over politiek, geschiedschrijving en humanisme in de Nederlanden van de vroege 16e eeuw*, unpublished master’s thesis,  university of Leuven 2008.

⁵⁶ Utrecht, University Library, ms. 774. K. VAN DER HORST, *Illuminated and decorated medieval manuscripts in the University Library, Utrecht. An illustrated catalogue*, Maarssen/The Hague, Gary Schwartz/SDU 1989, inventory n. 150; ID., *Willem Heda en de uitgave van zijn “Historia Episcoporum Ultrajectensium”*, in *E codicibus impressisque. Opstellen over het boek in de Lage Landen voor Elly Cockx-Indestege*, uitg. door C. Coppens et alii, Leuven, Peeters 2004, pp. 233-250 («Miscellanea Neerlandica», XVIII).